UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Ballot Box and Meeting House

By A. H. ROBINSON

The Coming Incarnation

By R. B. WHITAKER

Touching on Religion

Book Reviews by FREDERICK STARR

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. XC THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1923 NUMBER 11

SAILING.

Yes, my old barque is frail,
The skipper gray;
Yet calmly on I sail,
Each glad new day.

Loving life's changeful sea,
No course I fear!
Each dawn has charm for me,
No night is drear.

Looking ahead, the sun
Beckons me still;
And back where I have run
Joy oft had thrill.

Were there no breakers? Yes!
And oft my boat
Was tost in storm's mad stress,—
Yet kept afloat!

At times life's Happy Isles
Came full in view,
And song rose, miles on miles
O'er waters blue;—

Then suddenly, when shore
Was just anigh,
Black hurricane swept o'er,
And whirled me by.

But round I turned, and smiled,—
Bound still for port!
No surge, how high up-piled,
Strong will can thwart.

And who would always skim
O'er placid sea?
On! on, to Venture's rim,
High gods, for me!

And always peace ensued;
For when the rack
Had fled which tempest brewed,
The stars smiled back.

And such will be, I think,
Till comes the last,
When barque and I both sink,
All sailings past.

. . . All past? They may (who knows!)
Beyond the sun,
Where breeze of Spirit blows,
Be just begun!

JAMES HARCOURT WEST.

In the election of the six hundred and fifteen (615) members of the new English Parliament, Lloyd-George secured fifty-two (52) supporters. This is seventy-seven (77) less than the number of Coalition Liberals in the old Parliament; it is five (5) less than the number of despised Asquithian Liberals chosen in this last election, and eighty-nine (89) less than the representation of the Labor Party. A final touch of ridiculousness is given to the situation by the fact that of the Georgian remnant, one of course is himself, another his son, and three others his private secretaries. A kind of nice little family affair! Thus tumbles to the dust the arrogant trickster who, for the four years since the close of the Great War, has presumed to speak for the English people, and in their name rule the Empire and the world. His elimination from public power and influence is complete. We believe also that it is permanent, for there is an essential sanity about the English mind which makes inconceivable any return of the late premier to favor. He may write his memoirs, like Ludendorf, or make a lecture-tour, like Clemenceau, but otherwise his career is done. Aside from this wholesome achievement of casting Lloyd-George into well-earned obscurity, the most notable result of the British election is the great success of the Labor Party. This success is to be found not merely in the election of one hundred and thirty-six (136) members in the new Parliament as compared with seventy-six (76) in the old, but also in the greatly increased vote cast for defeated candidates in many constituencies, and in the total vote cast throughout the Kingdom of 4,191,732, which is only a little over a million less than the total Conservative vote, and more than the combined vote of the Asquithian and Lloyd-George Liberals. The Labor Party has now definitely supplanted the Liberals as "his Majesty's opposition." From this time on it is probable that the Liberals of both factions will steadily disintegrate, and the Tories and Laborites stand forth as the two great parties of the realm. This makes a real division between conservatives and radicals on real issues of the day, and is therefore to be welcomed.

The full significance of the Labor triumph in England cannot be understood unless it be considered closely from the standpoint of the conditions under which the Party's campaign was fought. On the one hand was the fierce drive against the Party from the outside on the ground of its dangerous character as a revolutionary organization. Lloyd-George had the discredit of leading this drive hand in hand with the "Die-Hard" *Morning Post*, which described the Laborites as Bolshevists in disguise seeking the overthrow alike of England and the Empire. The purpose

of this drive, of course, was to stir terror in the hearts of Englishmen, and lead them in panic to the support of any one of the old-time party groups. On the other hand was the Labor Party's own challenge to the voters in its pronouncement in favor of a state levy on capital, the most drastic proposal ever put forward by a political party in our time. It was loudly proclaimed throughout the country that this radical plank in Labor's platform would cost it millions of votes. The timid leaders, who are the curse of the organization, began to get scared and to back water. It looked for a time as though a sudden fiasco, like that of the Triple Alliance in the coal strike, might break at the last moment. But the pressure from the rank and file was evidently too great; the leaders had to stand by their guns, whether they would or no, and go to the country with the out-and-out declaration for a capital levy. Prospects for a victory seemed dubious; political prophets everywhere announced the impending collapse of the Labor Party, to the great profit of Asquith or Lloyd-George, they knew not which. And now look at the result! Asquith and Lloyd-George nowhere, and Labor firmly planted on the opposition bench! This is the most heartening event in years. The Bonar Law administration will accomplish nothing. But again there looms before us the glad prospect of England in the hands of Labor, and we are of good cheer!

We have yet to mention, however, that one feature of the English election which has gratified us most. We refer to the almost complete success of the pacifists who stood for office in this campaign. While sturdy warriors like Winston Churchill and Sir Hamar Greenwood were going down to ignominious defeat, practically the whole tribe of the despised and hated pacifists were winning smashing triumphs. Ramsay Macdonald, Philip Snowden, Charles P. Trevelyan, E. D. Morel, Arthur Ponsonby, Noel Buxton, and George Lansbury are some of those who resolutely refused to support the war who suffered terribly at the hands of excited public opinion, and who now are chosen by huge majorities to sit in Parliament as the representatives of an intelligent and repentant electorate which knows that these pacifists were right at a time which tried men's souls to the breaking-point. The case of none of these vindicated pacifists is quite so remarkable, perhaps, as that of our own colleague on the staff of UNITY, Mr. E. D. Morel, editor of *Foreign Affairs*. During the war he was beyond all question the best hated man in England. He was the thorn in the flesh of government and people alike. His appearance on the street was an occasion for jeering and disorder. His friends of long standing so scorned and spat upon him, that he came to protect himself from insult by no longer speaking to them. When caught in an innocent violation of the postal laws, he was instantly arrested and tried, and cast into prison amid ecstatic public rejoicings. Released from confinement, he continued his masterful work of exposing the real causes of the war, and England's share of responsibility therefor. His monthly journal, *Foreign Affairs,* has been the most ruthless truth-teller in the entire Allied world. Since the war, the English press has of course ignored him with a veritable Olympian indifference. Now he disputes the seat of Winston Churchill in Dundee, and is elected by a magnificent majority. Thus does time work its changes! The mills of God still grind!

The consequences of the recent election in the United States are beginning to register themselves in ways that are most certainly heartening to the liberal. Most dramatic, perhaps, is the resignation of Senator Newberry. The poor man did not dare to face the present Senate which had seated him, let alone the Senate which is due to assemble on the adjournment of the Congress now in session. The defeat of Senator Townsend was handwriting on the wall too clear to be misread or misinterpreted. And so Newberry goes the way of Lorimer on the path to dishonor and oblivion! Far more important than this sordid episode of dirty politics is the trumpet-call of Senator La Follette to the liberals and radicals of the country. In his summons to conference in Washington on December 1st and 2nd next, La Follette is first of all answering as it should be answered the impudent challenge of the country's will by President Harding in calling a special session of Congress to pass the Ship Subsidy Bill. On the other hand, the Wisconsin Senator is assuming that position of leadership among the progressive forces of the country to which he is entitled first by virtue of his unprecedented personal triumph in his own state, and secondly by virtue of the triumph in other mid-western states of those principles with which he was identified in days of lonely and heroic pioneering. La Follette's supremacy today is one which no man has the right to challenge. It has been nobly won by creative achievement in the field of statesmanship, by steadfast endurance in days of humiliation and obliquy, and now at last by the judgment of the people. The Senator has rightly put his hand to the plow, and we look to him not to turn back, until he has driven the furrow to the end.

It was a terrible picture of the world which Mr. H. G. Wells presented in his speech at London University as a Labor Party candidate in the recent election in England.

> "At the present time," he said, "the civilized organization of Europe is sinking very rapidly. For all we can tell it may be dying. It is a process of collapse . . . a collapse that began in Russia in 1917 and which has been steadily spreading westward since that time."

Speaking of the depreciating currency as "the outward, visible sign of this collapse," Mr. Wells declared that

this meant the speedy break-down of our "whole complex process of production and distribution." This means in turn the reversion to the old "clumsy system of barter"; and following this, he said, "you will have death of the transport service, death of organized industrialism, death of town life." Europe will become a continent of peasants, with all the superfluous millions not placed upon the land, simply wiped out of existence. It is difficult to conceive of a more pessimistic prospect than this presented by Mr. Wells—and the worst of it is, it is the sober truth. Those who journeyed in Europe this past summer saw the process of disintegration going on right before their face and eyes. From Paris eastward to Berlin, Vienna and Moscow, was a steady progress downward into the pit of ruin. It was a dreadful sight—like that of a ship sinking slowly, inch by inch, beneath the waves, and no help anywhere in sight! We wish that there were more men who saw the situation as clearly, and interpreted its significance as unflinchingly, as Mr. Wells. Hugh Walpole says that Wells's career as an artist ended with the opening of the Great War. May be so—though we enter a demurrer! But if so, his infinitely greater career as a teacher and prophet began at that same time.

The closing of Dr. Percy Stickney Grant's Sunday evening Forum, at the Church of the Ascension, in New York, after seventeen years of public service, is nothing less than a tragedy. It is also a crime—a sin against the Holy Ghost. Dr. Grant was the first clergyman in the country to organize his evening service on the now familiar forum pattern. Sunday after Sunday, he placed in his pulpit men of the first order of distinction, to speak on subjects of large public importance. Great throngs of people, representing all classes of society, filled the church to listen to the authoritative testimony of these men, to question them with direct inquiries, and then themselves to join in the discussion from the floor. Here were exemplified the best American traditions of free speech. Here was beautifully presented the essential Christian confidence in human nature. Here was a courageous and highly successful demonstration of the applicability of religion to the thought and life of contemporary society. In these Sunday evening meetings, the Church of the Ascension was made a holier place than it had ever been made by priestly blessing and dedication; for this was a consecration by the sweet uses of human fellowship, and if this be not holiness, we know not what holiness is. But all this is now ended—the Forum is closed—the Church of the Ascension is dark when before it was bright with the joy of human faces—because the late Bishop Burch ruled that it was not spiritually fitting to have such scenes inside the sacred walls of a religious edifice, and Bishop Manning affirmed the ruling! Dearly beloved brethren, what think you that Jesus would say to this?

It's wonderful—this Christianity! Wonderful what it is doing for mankind! Having about completed the job of destroying our western world, it is now preparing to get a good grip on Asia and work its havoc there. Thus, in a highly laudatory article in the *Outlook* headed "Chinese Christians in War," we read that

> the most effective military leadership in China has undoubtedly been that of (a) Christian, General Feng Yu-hsiang.

This officer, we are told,

> is a Methodist convert, and about eighty per cent of his soldiers are said to be Christians, and of the officers all are Christians. . . . Feng regularly employs two evangelists to work among his troops at all times, and occasionally some of the leading missionary evangelists go for two or three weeks among the soldiers. . . . The officers meet regularly for Bible study in a sort of normal class; then in turn they hold Bible study classes with the soldiers. The spirit of Cromwell's Ironsides has seemed to reappear in Feng's camp. Like Cromwell's men, Feng's soldiers are relentless in battle. . . . If the Chinese can get the spirit of . . . Feng into the army, they may make of their country a really great nation. . . . There is no greater libel," continues the *Outlook*, "that has ever been uttered against Christianity than that it is a religion of feebleness. On the contrary, it is a religion that, for the protection of the weak and the service of all, first creates and then harnesses power.

Wonderful—indeed wonderful! We cannot help thinking of how all this would bring joy to the heart of Jesus of Nazareth. If he were in China today, along with the missionaries of his word, this is undoubtedly just the way in which his divine influence would show itself. Like Gen. Feng, a Christian, Jesus would "revolutionize military operations in China—and revolutionize them for the better." He would create an army, as his disciple Feng has done, the soldiers of which would be "a vast improvement over the Chinese soldiers." Wonderful—thrice wonderful! If this isn't a case for the increase of missionary contributions, we don't know what is.

We have just received from the National Council for Reduction of Armaments a pamphlet called "War On War: Campaign Textbook," by Frederick J. Libby. This little book, only seventy pages long, is a compilation of anti-war material—statistics, quotations from books, speeches and official reports, resolutions of public bodies, etc.—classified under such chapter headings as "We Must End War Now or Perish," "We Can End War Now If We Will," "How We Can End War Now." We have never before seen such effective evidence, packed into such small compass, with such deadly effect. The pamphlet is a masterpiece of its kind. It is a bomb any fragment of which would kill a militarist without warning. We advise all pacifists to go armed day and night with this booklet. Its cost is only ten cents a copy, and a dozen copies may be secured for a dollar. Write to the National Council at 532 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Ballot-Box and Meeting-House

The Ballot box and the Meeting house are merely symbols. But like all other symbols they call up mental associations which may or may not correspond to other forms of reality which are behind them. When we think of the Ballot box the association is with election day. The mental picture is one of brass bands, campaign speeches, whom not to vote for, the disillusionment of the morning after, and all that sort of thing. When we think about the Meeting house, especially if it be one of the New England variety of a generation ago, there are memories of long sermons —two of them on Sunday, an atmosphere of repression, the Sunday suit of clothes, and the painful recollection of uncushioned pews.

But back of these associations, pleasant or disagreeable, and back of the institutions out of which they spring are two great forces which reach down into the most vital concerns of human life—politics and religion. It never has been possible for people to agree upon any definition of these two great controlling forces in their lives. All that we can agree upon is that political institutions are institutions of human control. That is the thing which, with quite doubtful success, we are trying to achieve through the medium of the state and of politics. Quite obviously the nature of this human control has never been thought out with very great care, or at least the few political philosophers who have thought themselves through the maze of speculation, have never succeeded in making their conclusions appear very vital.

Political philosophy, like theology, its analogue in the field of religion, seems very far away from the real arena in which the battle is going on at the present moment. But it cannot do us any harm to remember that there is something vastly greater to a political election than the mere choice of one candidate or another, or the adoption of a plank that will make us wet or dry or moist, or insure the registration of our finger prints at police headquarters.

The modern state is an institution of appalling power and authority. The variety and extent of legislation by which our individual and social lives are affected is astonishing. It isn't any wonder that such a lot of people complained about having their personal liberty taken away when the 18th amendment went into effect. Intelligent and high minded people everywhere feel exactly that way; only they prefer to exercise their personal liberty in directions which appear to them more conducive to their physical health, and a somewhat saner state of society.

Why not be generous and compromise on this thing. We, who are perfectly satisfied to let the 18th amendment stand as it is, agree to let you who are not so happy, have all you want to drink, provided that when some crisis arises, such as a proposed declaration of war, we shall be perfectly free to criticize the President, or Congress, or the Chemical Corporation, or anybody whom we may think has had anything to do in bringing about the crisis, without being sent to jail for the exercise of our personal liberty. You see one's point of view makes a difference as to the particular direction in which he wishes to exercise his personal liberty. It makes a difference whose ox is gored.

On its really constructive side of course the benefit of the modern state is incalculable. It is through these institutions of human control that the great pestilences of famine and disease which in the past swept whole races of people out of existence have been placed somewhat within human control. The facilities which the state places at our disposal in the matter of public health, education, transportation from one continent to another, are merely suggestive of the fashion in which it reaches right out and takes hold of the commonest affairs of our lives.

Now religion deals with another set of forces. The Meeting house stands for other values. If we speak about politics as representing human control, we might speak of religion as representing divine control, keeping constantly in mind, however, that the time honored separation of the sacred from the secular is pure fiction. Still there is a difference between politics and religion, emotionally perceived rather than rationally defined, which seems to suggest that one begins where the other leaves off. And since the sense of moral obligation has always found strong supporters in the institutions of religion, it is not without reason that the state should look to the Church as an ally and friend. And so if one takes these two institutions, the Ballot box and the Meeting house, together with the principles of politics and religion for which they stand, he will find that there is no single interest of human life which directly or indirectly they do not affect.

Now something of very great significance is happening to both of these vital interests and principles of human life. Just what it is nobody is in any position to define; but we are quite certain that one of the unmistakable indications of it is the complete breakdown of these institutions as we have known them in the past. And one may fairly prophesy that when the historian of a century or two centuries hence approaches his task he will find nothing of so much significance as the speed and thoroughness of the changes through which the political and religious institutions of our day are passing. In Russia every vestige of the old order is gone. In Germany and Austria, almost gone. In Italy a converted Communist has been awarded the office of Prime Minister as a token of his better political second sight. The French people, always restless in the seats of government, are just

now attacked by a peculiarly virulent form of political neurasthenia. And while England makes the gracious gesture to the past of returning the Conservative party to power nobody appears especially confident regarding its ability to check the course along which the British ship of state is dragging its anchor.

Now, of course, the changes which are taking place here in America are less far-reaching, and their immediate cause of a somewhat different character, but these changes are unmistakable and significant. Every government has to be administered by some sort of machinery, and with us this administration has taken the form common to all modern democracies of political parties. So far as we have been able to develop our machinery these parties have been more or less fundamental to the working out of the theories of government which we hold to be desirable. But this allegiance to party control and affiliation is all but extinct. Such conservative observers and creators of public opinion as President Nicholas M. Butler and Mr. Frank Munsey, think the country is actually dividing upon the issue of radicalism and conservatism and they are in favor of having this issue carried straight over into some form of political formulation. While Senator Borah, one of the clearest critics of our institutions who still remains within the ranks of the established parties, declares that a man must be blind to political conditions who does not see that there is practically a political revolution going on.

Now the chief cause of all this governmental bankruptcy is due to what might be described as the liberation of an idea. Consciously or unconsciously a very searching question is being asked all over the world, a question which is fundamental to political authority everywhere, and that question is what medium is it through which the state is able to exercise such far-reaching authority over its subjects. Now the answer to this question or at least a most illuminating discussion of it has been offered in a little book by Prof. Beard called "The Economic Basis of Politics."

In describing the age long character of the struggle which is involved in this question, and in showing the recurrence of certain features at more or less regular intervals, Prof. Beard begins with Aristotle, the master of those who know. After going over the entire scope of the state as it existed actually and in the mind of Aristotle, he shows how Aristotle comes to the conclusion that there is a very definite relationship between the forms and fortunes of the state and the character and distribution of property among the population. Apparently the inequalities of wealth which give rise to so much bitterness in our day were quite as fragrant in the days of Aristotle, and he was keen enough to realize that the greater part of the energy of the state must be directed towards the protection of this property in the hands of those who possessed it.

Then Prof. Beard goes on to show the unanimity of opinion on this point among the political philosophers of all ages. First by Machiavelli, with whom any power was justified which would keep the people in subjection; second, in the opinions of James Madison, father of the constitution, who affirmed the prime function of government to be the protection of the different and unequal faculties of man for acquiring property; and finally, in the judgment of the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, Daniel Webster, who came to the conclusion that in the absence of military power political force naturally and necessarily goes into the hands of those who hold property.

As a matter of fact an examination of the manner in which our political machinery has functioned from the very beginning will show that any exceptions to the primary importance of property influence has been more apparent than real. The Declaration of Independence so far as its effect upon legislation or the attitude of the state today is concerned is nothing more than a convenient bit of shop window dressing. We ought to be more honest about this thing than we are. The ownership of property both private and communal is one of the oldest conceptions which we can trace in human experience. Men of property always have and so far as we can see now, always will, control the affairs of the state. Here are these great interests of the modern State—industrial, commercial, transport, land ownership and all the rest. These interests are going to be in conflict for the control of political authority, in order that their properties may suffer the smallest degree of depreciation.

The task of the statesman becomes that of regulator in this age-long conflict. Of course he may sell himself to one or another of these interests, as many do, and thereby become an unworthy representative of the people—and of property. Or he may upon the other hand direct his talents towards a more equitable distribution of property, in which case he becomes a real leader of the people. In any case this whole process with which people all over the world are becoming familiar, is what may be described as the liberation of an idea; and it is the liberation of this idea which is fundamental to the breaking down of political institutions as they have been organized in the past. This is what is happening to the Ballot Box. It seems strange that those innocuous political slot machines should constitute the storm center of so much that is vital in life, but such is the case and an acknowledgment of it is at least the beginning of wisdom.

Something of the same sort has happened in the field of religion. The old New England Meeting houses have passed through profound modification. They were frequently erected in the geographical centre of the town; a convenient enough arrangement so long as the interests of the community were predominatingly agricultural. But when the railroads

came in and factories were erected, the center of population changed. Meeting houses began to fall into decay, or else were maintained as memorials of a former glory and beauty. The analogy is not without limitations, of course, but it is not far from suggesting the situation in which religious institutions all over the world find themselves today. The world has moved away from the Church. There used to be a happy time in which you could hang heretics and burn witches at the stake all in the name of religion; and the number of persons can never be known who suffered the penalty of death all for the greater glory of God.

Now all this is broken down. Men of science, who as Mr. Shaw says are in the last analysis not so much skeptics as mystics, have come forward with the affirmation that the old sort of supernaturalism has got to go, and it is going. Dr. Fosdick, who among others has demonstrated the futility of denominational labels about as effectively as one could wish, is charged with heresy. He pays no attention to his accusers, his friends smile blandly and indulgently at the gratuitous advertising, and the offense will be repeated at the first opportunity. An elderly priest of the Episcopal Church writes a book in complete denial of the miracles of the New Testament, and the only answer which the authorities are apparently able to make is that age has enfeebled his mentality. And so it goes.

In all this it may be that we are coming to the very heart of religion. It may be that with religion released from the fears and superstitions of the past, directing the powerful influence which it can always exercise over the lives of men in constructive and socially helpful channels—it may be that a rebirth of religion is possible. One of the significant signs of the times is the fact that so much of the best interpretation of religion comes from outside the Churches altogether. Sometimes you do have to stand apart from your institution in order to get a better perspective and see it in its truest light. It may be the most charitable, and perhaps the truest interpretation of the failures of the Church leaders to say that they have been too close to their tasks. Prof. Bertrand Russell for example says that the three sources from which the activities of men are derived are instinct, mind and the life of the spirit; and that of these the greatest is the life of the spirit.

That is the sort of thing that the best leaders of the Church have always said. It is what Jesus said. But somehow or other the life of the spirit has not harmonized well with the machinery of Church organization, with the result that a lot of the spirit has flowed completely outside the Church. Perhaps the first step towards turning the current in the other direction, back into the channels through which it was originally intended that it should flow, may be a recognition of the fact that the old Church like the old State, is gone. The person who possesses spiritual power and insight, who is willing to pay the price of such spiritual power in the cultivation of character, is going to be the leader of the new Church, just as the person who makes the right use of his property is going to be the leader of the new State.

And it may be that both politics and religion are converging upon a new emphasis, an emphasis upon this most vital factor of all which Mr. Russell speaks about, the life of the spirit. It may be the Promised land, which we are merely permitted to view from afar. But in any case it is a vision worthy of cultivation by high-minded men everywhere to the end that their children may enjoy a better inheritance.

Inscribed over the entrance of the municipal building of a certain American city is the following statement: "Erected by the people to inspire zeal for the common welfare, and dedicated by them to the cause of just and capable government." That is the beginning of true citizenship.

Concerning the new Church, Emerson says that it will be "founded on moral science; at first cold and naked, a babe in a manger again: the algebra and mathematics of ethical law; the church of men to come, without shawms or psaltry or sackbut, but it will have heaven and earth for its beams and rafters, science for symbol and illustration: it will fast enough gather beauty, music, picture, poetry."

A. H. Robinson.

UNITY and the Churches

Some of our readers are still somewhat concerned at what they are pleased to call our constant "slamming of the churches." Do you realize, they ask, to what an extent you are harping on this string—never saying good but always evil of this historic institution? *Do you realize?*

Do we realize? Well, we should rather say we do! If there is any policy which UNITY is following consciously, deliberately, with malice aforethought, so to speak, it is this policy toward the churches. Nor do we think, if our recalcitrant readers understood the situation, that they would object to what we are doing. On the contrary, we have faith to believe that they would every last one of them support our policy to the limit. Therefore, let us have some things now definitely understood!

First of all, in a large part of what we are saying about the churches, we are not arguing or debating or denouncing at all, but simply stating facts—the ugly, discouraging, damning facts about church at-

tendance, church membership, church influence, etc., which the religious press of the country is not only refusing to acknowledge but actually conspiring to cover up. We contend that these facts ought to be known in the name of truth, if nothing more; and we propose that UNITY, in lieu of a better and more influential medium, shall do its utmost to make them known. Whatever the facts are, we shall publish them. That, when accurate and well-founded, these facts are almost invariably depressing, is not our fault.

In the second place, in what we say about the churches, we are offering not merely the facts which indicate that the churches are dying, but the definite opinion that they ought to die. The churches, as most of them exist today, have no more to do with the realities of religion than the old-time temple worship of the Roman Empire. Their creeds, their prayers, their practices, their pieties, are as alien to modern life and thought as the Ptolemaic theory of the universe. The churches are not even ethically sound or spiritually courageous; every vital question of the hour—capital and labor, war and peace, sex and marriage—they either dodge, or else answer in terms of dead conventionality. Nearly all the real religion there is in the world at this present moment, is outside the churches, exactly as it was when Christianity, a proletarian movement of social, political and spiritual revolt, first made its appearance in the classic world. To get rid of the dead ecclesiasticisms of the day and foster the fresh spiritual revivals which know not church nor priest, is as clearly the service of religion in our time, as to oppose the temple-worship and support the cult of the Christ, was the service of religion in the time of the Caesars.

Thirdly and lastly, in what we say about the churches, we do not destroy for the mere sake of destroying. We offer no program of mere negation. On the contrary, we would beg our readers to note that we have a well thought-out, thorough-going constructive program of our own for the substitution of "new churches for old." We have no illlusions about this program. It is experimental and therefore tentative, it is nowhere, so far as we have been able to discover, being worked out to any perfect or ideal results. But its basis—not in theology, or ritual, or ecclesiastical organization, but in the community life of the people—we believe to be sound; and upon it we expect to see reared a new religious fabric as significant in our day as was Protestantism in the days of the passing of the Middle Ages.

In these three points lies the explanation of UNITY's attitude toward the churches. We do not ask that it be accepted. We do ask that it be understood.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

The Joy of Life

XVI.

The general congress of the colonies, which in 1754 met at Albany and adopted a plan of union prepared by Benjamin Franklin providing for a self-sustained government which would control federal affairs, marked an epoch in colonial American history. True, the assemblies rejected this plan for federation, but in the very endeavor there was an earnest of what the years held in store; there was the embryonic beginning of a new nation—America. One hundred and sixty-five years later there met at Versailles, France, a peace conference. At this conference a plan was adopted providing for a league of nations council which would direct the course of world affairs. As all of the nations of the world are not represented in this league, it still remains only an embryonic beginning of a new world-order. But it is a beginning; it is an earnest of a future world state, and has its analogy in the Albany conference of 1754.

America today is a league of states. That complete federation toward which the Albany conference pointed the way has been realized. Forty-eight separate commonwealths have united into one governmental unit. There is no friction between these states, for each is a component part of the national whole; each plays a definite role in the shaping of the nation's policies. So accustomed have we become to this harmonious affiliation that we can hardly conceive of New York, for example, declaring war on Pennsylvania, yet one hundred and sixty-five years ago such a federation was looked upon with more misgivings and popular alarm than was the league of nations in 1919.

Among the lessons which history has to teach is the vital fact that unity rather than separation leads to peace and the best welfare of all peoples. War, every war, can be traced in its final analysis to the desire to expand or maintain the interests of a given group of individuals as over against similar interests equally desired by another group. We have learned, through experience, that civil war can be prevented through the establishment of a central government having control over the conduct of the individual states which form the union or nation. In time man will learn that war between those larger groups, the nations of the world, can be prevented through the establishment of a central world government in which each nation will loyally and peacefully co-operate in some such way as the states in America co-operate in the central government at Washington.

Today there are many honorable citizens of these United States who are vehemently opposed to any form of a world federation. They feel, as did the opponents of the Franklin policy for colonial association, that such entanglements jeopardize the safety of the affiliating groups. The careful student of American history cannot but have sympathy for this body of his fellow countrymen who are apprehensive lest that seemingly unpatriotic group which discourses in terms of world federation overthrow the sacred institution of nationalism. Yet that sympathy is totally

free from any kindred fear. A world federation would make safe the nation. In isolation rather than in co-operation lies the danger of decomposition. If America is to safeguard herself against becoming the spoil of over-populated nations, she can most effectively do so by a liberal policy of world federation. In removing all national discriminations and looking upon all the peopes on this planet as one social unit there lies national safety and independence. Whatever criticism may be made of the league of nations as it now exists, the fact will unquestionably be substantiated by history that whereas the Albany conference of 1754 pointed the way to the present peaceful union of states in America, the Versailles conference of 1919 pointed the way to a peaceful union of nations. EDWARD ARTHUR ROCKWOOD.

The Coming Incarnation

One of the great facts of religion which life in the Orient brings home to one afresh is that of incarnation. As one becomes acquainted with the influence of Buddha, Confucius, Mo Tzu, Mencius, and other great philosophers and seers in the life of the East, he realizes how large a part in human progress has been played by the men who to a greater or lesser extent have been channels of the divine life and truth. While often much of superstition and ignorance has been exploited in their names, nevertheless when judged by their best, they are seen to be real prophets of God who have done much to lead their people on toward the light. They have performed much the same service for the Far East as did Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah for the people of ancient Israel. If the Orient is responding today to the thought of Jesus, it is because the way has been prepared by these ancient prophets for the new step forward.

The situation in the East today, especially in China, brings to mind another aspect of this truth which needs emphasis, that is, social incarnation. In speaking of it, however, we must not lose sight of the primary truth upon which it depends. God ever seeks incarnation through the lives of those who are his children. The supreme call of life to every man coming into the world is to hear the great call to sonship, to let the Highest find expression in and through him. This personal aspect of the old faith still appeals most strongly to the modern man. Life has supreme meaning to each one of us if we realize that through us God is seeking expression. However, the social aspect of incarnation which we wish to consider is no less appealing, and we believe that it has wrapped up in it the key to the problem of how best to take the next step forward toward the realization of the kingdom of God upon earth.

We are very largely united today in the demand for a faith that stresses social salvation. The Great War, together with the collapse of conventional morality and institutions which has more or less accompanied it, has demonstrated the absolute necessity for a new social life and faith among the nations if our western peoples are to survive. We have built upon a foundation of sand, and the walls of our house have crashed in upon us at the coming of the first real storm. In spite of many longings for peace, all Europe and much of Asia is today a seething caldron of hate, suspicion, envy, jealousy,—in fact of all the passions that go to make war, and no man can tell how long the days of truce may be before the renewal of open struggle. In the face of such a situation there is desperate need for world salvation,—for the loosing of some force which shall be able successfully to create a new spirit in and between the nations, and to give new heart to the forces which work for peace and brotherhood. We have heard much (and need to hear more) of the international mind and morality, but where is the power to convince men that such idealism is workable? China, no less than the rest of the world, is in dire need of social salvation. The oldest, and in many ways the greatest nation in the world, is today torn between conflicting factions until it sometimes seems as though it were vain to hope for peace or for an honest and stable government. China's greatest curse is the militarists. They are her ever-present burden and problem. A comparatively small group in the midst of her millions of people, they nevertheless succeed in keeping all things political and industrial in a state of instability. Meanwhile, certain foreign interests are ever-present trouble makers, ready to take instant advantage of every weakness revealed. Apparently, they have somewhat tardily arrived at the knowledge that economic power is more effective and much safer than political, and so they are proceeding to entrench their new position, while at the same time leading some naive people to believe that in giving up certain political prerogatives they are really giving up their right to exploit China.

As we think of the world situation, it seems plain that the chief danger to those ideal forces which strive for the new order, is that they will make the old mistake of trusting too much to political methods in seeking salvation. Without entirely condemning all government, one can say with much positiveness, that developments of recent years have demonstrated beyond a doubt that much western idealism has gone astray, and its force has been hopelessly dissipated through the vain attempt to harmonize international idealism with the opportunist compromise of political states who believe they must play the game with other states no matter what the cost to morality. This was the tragedy of Versailles. Certain great idealists went down to defeat because they saw no other method of seeking their ends than by working with the majority, no matter what the cost, through the recognized political combinations. The cost proved to be almost an entire surrender of the ideals which they sought to embody in the League of Nations and the Peace Treaty.

May we in China say to the friends at home, that from our Oriental point of observation, it seems foolish for men and women of the international mind, with the world view, still to go on trusting to the political method of seeking the Kingdom of God? Doubtless, as Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin has suggested in his recent work, "The Christian Revolution," politics has its use as a register of achievement; but certainly that is quite different from accepting it as a *method* of achievement. It is true that our political leaders do incorporate certain reforms in legislation from time to time; but we are tempted to think that it is in response almost invariably from pressure without rather than from impulse or principle within. The line is held for conservatism, for "things as they are," as

long as is possible in the face of public opinion; when the demand of the people can no longer be withstood, then with great acclaim our solons announce to the world that they are leading it forward in a great new step. There are exceptions to any rule, but to the sceptical we suggest the study of the legislation of the past few years in either America or England with this thought in mind. We believe the study will prove convincing.

If it is really public opinion which forces social reform, and which will force the coming social revolution, then the effort of men and women of international mind and heart should not be to create or to uphold certain political parties or to try themselves to work within the political machine. Rather, they should seek from the outside the most effective means possible of creating a public sentiment, a public spirit, a public faith, if you will, that is right. There is no surer way of putting one's self outside the realm of this kind of usefulness than by joining in the political activities of any government at present existent in the world. All political activity, from that of Bolshevist Russia down to the most bourgeois capitalistic government of Europe or America, is based upon the principle of expediency; compromise is its cornerstone. Ideals are a matter of barter and sale, and the idealist who ventures within the machine either quickly ceases to be an idealist, or finds himself outside the great political game almost as soon as he enters. Tragedies of this sort are very familiar to foreigners in the Orient. Students go to America or England for *their education;* they hear great ideals preached in some of our institutions; then they come back to their native land eager to play a part in awakening their people to the possibilities of the new age. But it is not easy to find work of the right sort, and soon, being offered a position in government employ, they accept and are forever lost to the world in the bottomless pit of Chinese politics. True, there are occasional examples of men who stand out against the machine of which they have become a part, and we honor them for their bravery. However, we cannot but observe their helplessness in accomplishment in any large way. They are bound by the very rules of the games which they play. Their idealism, if it survives, functions only in a most limited circle.

Perhaps a new kind of political life, not based upon expediency and compromise, is possible; but if so, it will not be brought about by those who permit themselves to be lost in the chaos of the present political world. This brings us to the next thought which we have in mind. We believe that such is the state of existing political institutions and of our present social order, that the only method by which men will be convinced of the new and better way, is by the method of incarnation, social incarnation, if you will, of the Kingdom of God. That Kingdom, we believe, is again at hand. There is coming a drawing together in social groups of men and women of the international mind and heart, who have seen the vision of the brotherly society, based upon mutual service in love, in which all co-operate for the common good in the total task of life. Such groups will be the new form which the Christian Church will take, and yet not a new form, but the old one with which the Church of the first century began. Their motive will be an impulse to express faith in a visible institution, that institution to be a common life together (probably more or less communistic in which faith functions economically, industrially, socially, in fact, in all the things which have to do with human life and activity. Such communities will live that through them the divine way of life may be discovered and revealed to men. Doubtless there will be many "prophetic" communities before the way is clear for that brotherly life which all men shall recognize as the social incarnation of the will of God. As the prophets of all the ages have suffered misunderstanding, mistreatment, and death, so doubtless will it be with many of the "prophetic communities." They will be hated of all men because of the threat which their success carries to the old dying capitalistic system. Perhaps that society which eventually becomes the incarnation of divine love in a community, will, like Jesus, be put to death by its enemies, only to rise again to a more glorious life in the Kingdom which shall bring together all nations and all races under one loyalty.

Perhaps someone will say, What crude idealism! How impossible an idea! How far from the world of real things! Just, we would suggest, what men said of Jesus when he ventured to live by the utmost idealism in the midst of the inhuman Roman machine. He should have been a Zelot, on fire to set up a political Kingdom, and then he would have found many to proclaim him a man of sense. But history proclaims the end of all the political parties which sought the salvation of the Jewish people, and the destruction of their city and nation by the Roman military power. Only the idealism of Jesus, and the brotherhood which he founded when he drew the twelve disciples to himself, survived. And now it is time for that brotherhood to become once more what it was when he walked the ways of earth as its leader. Then, it had a common purse, a common work, and there was mutual sharing in burdens and blessings. That group, while Jesus lived, and during the early years of the Church at Jerusalem, was not merely a group which functioned in worship, and education. It was a community with a common life which included the economic as well as the so-called "religious." It is Walter Rauschenbusch who tells us that

> at the outset the disciples at Jerusalem simply continued the life which they had lived with the Master. They went on doing as they had done with him. They had a common purse. He had cared for the wants of his family like a father, and they acknowledged that they had never been in want while under him.
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> "This communistic principle," says H. C. Vedder, "was more enduring in early Christianity than many have realized. The Epistle of Barnabas says, 'Thou shalt communicate in all things with thy neighbor; thou shalt not call things thine own; for if ye are partakers in common of things that are incorruptible, how much more of those things which are corruptible.' Justin says, 'We who were before occupied by preference with possessions and goods, now bring what we have to the community, and share it with every one who has need.' From the later Fathers scores of sentences like the following may be culled: 'Private property is the root of all strife.' 'Possession in common, that is, equal ownership, is the natural original order of things.' 'Beyond what a man requires for his absolute needs, all that he has belongs to the poor.' 'What the poor ask is not thine, but their own.'"

Enough has been quoted to show that the Church started out with a great ideal, and that in the beginning it was not only preached, but practiced as well. Why, then, was this original Christianity abandoned by the Church for the ecclesiasticism which we see today? The answer is very simple: Because it is always easier to preach than to practice. The Church as it grew in size found the administration of its communism difficult. It also found this ideal very un-

popular with the more worldly members of the different Christian communities. When finally pagan influence came to find a larger place within the Church through the espousing of the faith by Constantine, it settled down to conform itself to the world, to the preaching of one ideal and the living of another. It proclaimed the message of Jesus, but became a supporter of the evil social order in which it lived. And so it has remained to the present day. We decry the capitalist system, we grow eloquent in denouncing political corruption, and yet we go quietly on taking our part in both. Now if we understand the purpose of Jesus, it was to create a spiritual kingdom, a brotherhood of the common life, right here in the midst of the old social order. He with the twelve disciples formed such a brotherhood. By the time of the beginning of the events recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, this group had grown to 120 persons in Jerusalem, and it still retained its original character which Jesus had given it. "All that believed were together, and had all things common." The ideal required that the disciples of Jesus should build transformed communities wherever they might go. Thus were men to be convinced that Jesus' way of life was workable because they could see that the Christian Brotherhood was practicing it. Now we believe that this is just what is needed in the world today. Men simply will not believe that Christianity is workable as long as we preach but refrain from practicing. It is vain to attempt thoroughgoing practice of Christian principles within the present economic system. Capitalism is as incompatible with Christianity as slavery was, in some ways more so. To seek for Christian revolution through the ordinary political channels is futile because the whole political principle is hopelessly careless of truth and morality as we have seen. The only alternative is the Christian one. We must seek to advance the Kingdom through incarnation. The time is fully come when those who believe in the great ideal should become conscious of themselves as a spiritual brotherhood, and should draw together here and there for the expression of their faith in a common life. This is the scientific method as well as the Christian, the method of discovery through experimentation. Often it is a costly method, we confess. It is moderately safe to proclaim the message; it takes more of faith and courage to dare to live the life. The great venture brought Jesus crucifixion; that was the climax of incarnation with him. But it brought the resurrection as well, the glory of the new life in which all past failures became victory. If little groups of Christians here and there seek to make their Churches or their brotherhoods actual examples of the Kingdom life, doubtless there will be failures; there will also be crucifixions. But may it not be with us as with Jesus, that the resurrection will come by the way of the cross? Who knows but what the one thing needed to give our world the courage to seek the higher way is to have a few groups of Christians here and there begin to live the life of full brotherhood, taking all the risks involved, for the sake of their service to the coming Kingdom of God!

R. B. WHITAKER.

Lintsing, Shantung, China.

THE STUDY TABLE

Touching on Religion

There have been those, even among foreigners from Christian lands, who have dreamed of the possibility of Hinduism as a world religion. Whether it has the qualities to become such or not, Hinduism is by no means an anachronism in present-day life. Its fundamentals are few and simple and less in conflict with modern thought than those of some other great religious systems. Its hold, however, on Young India has been somewhat weakened by the influences of the west and the materialistic tendencies of the English schools. We have lately received four works by the well-known R. Ramasuffa Sastri, District Munseff of Trivandrum. They are written to show that Hinduism is still adapted to Indian needs, to instruct young Hindus and to prevent their drift towards agnosticism.[1] Particularly addressed to them is the translation of the Eleventh skanda of the "*Srimath Bagavatha.*" The *Bagavatha* is one of the most important books of Hinduism and this skanda has particular significance for the condensed statement it presents of the essentials of the religion—a statement attributed to Krishna himself. The translation is in simple form, quite in accordance with modern points of view. The accompanying notes explain points of difficulty and make pertinent applications. Sastri reduces Hinduism's articles of faith to three simple propositions:—(1) The existence of a concrete Godhead, source from which the universe is created, immanent in all things; (2) the law of Karma and reincarnation; (3) the possibility of Samadhic bliss—*i.e.* the full realization of divine immanence by the individual. Our author asserts that these are easily granted and that they are unassailable by science. In the other three works, Sastri develops his views in various directions in fuller detail. In "Science, Truth and Rationalism as Tests of Hindu Religion," he draws an interesting parallel between the teachings of Hinduism (as drawn from Brahmanism, one of the oldest of the great religious and philosophical systems) and Bergson's philosophy, one of the latest expressions of western thought. The spirit shown by Sastri in all these writings is admirable.

Recognizing that Christianity has reached a crisis, Prof. Elwood attempts a reconstruction based on the teachings of the social sciences.[2] His book carries on its wrapper strong endorsements from Professors Small, Ross, Cooley and Kent. It must then be a sound discussion and the future is secure. For some distance into the book, the author makes frequent reference to anthropology, the teachings of which are asserted to support his views; near the end he again mentions anthropology from time to time; but there is a broad middle section in which the science of man is sadly neglected. We are rarely told how or where

[1] "A Study or True Translation in English of the Eleventh Skanda in *'Srimath Bagavatha'*." R. Ramasubba Sastri. Trivandrum: 1919. 8vo; pp. v. 324-44. "Hindu Catechism." Trivandrum: 1921. 8vo; pp. 29. "Regulations." Trivandrum: 1921. 8vo; pp. 6-22. "Science, Truth and Rationalism as Tests of Hindu Religion." Trivandrum: 1921. 8vo; pp. 183.

[2] "The Reconstruction of Religion. A Sociological View." Charles A. Elwood. New York: 1922. The Macmillan Co. 16mo; pp. xv, 323.

anthropology gives these basal data and usually it is not easy to see that it does. But Elwood is dead in earnest in his argument. We might wish that he knew more of Buddhism. All that he seems to know of it is the theoretical Buddhism of Gautama; the Buddhism that is alive and active in the world today appears to have escaped his attention. He is hardly fair to either *pagans* or *barbarians* using both when a scapegoat is wanted for Christian and civilized faults. He always, too, falls back on Germany and the Germans when some barbaric paganism of especially heinous character is to be held up to view and execrated. Although the book is a plea for a line of conduct to be worked out upon a basis of the human relations, the name of Confucius does not occur in it. Yet it is natural that it should. Elwood conceives the hope of the future, to lie in the building up of a religion founded on democracy and reared through the recognition of social rights and duties; it will be altruistic and Christian; it is to be based on the teachings of Jesus and to embody the ethics of Christ. Why does he expect a better fate for Christianity in the future than in the past? How can a religion that teaches the supreme importance of the individual expect to produce an altruistic world? If Christianity emanating directly from its founder has broken down, as Elwood asserts—is it probable that a reconstruction by narrow-minded modern workers will fare better? What was *new* in the Christian ethics that Prof. Elwood considers fundamental? If it was all known and taught centuries before Jesus was born, why call it Christian? Our author in his naïve admiration of the superiority of the Hebrew (Jewish) family and polity reminds us of a long list of Old Testament students—but were they truly superior? Does "anthropology" recognize that superiority? It is common for theologians to claim it, but was it truly superior to the Indian family, or the Chinese? Our author clings to an old and narrow prejudice. The "chosen people" somehow built something peculiar and fine; Jesus passed it on, with additions and with a new stamp on it. This, notwithstanding its failure, is what is to arise in the future—revived reorganized, restrengthened. Unless this, Elwood sees but ruin.

It is difficult to speak of Bundy's book in a paragraph.[3] It lends itself to a long review, but neither time, space nor inclination permit us to make such. We shall confine ourselves to a few comments. The book is intended as an answer to those writers—now quite numerous—who have claimed that Jesus was unsound in body and mind—that he was an epileptic, a paranoiac, even a madman. Our author presents these views in considerable detail, writer by writer. He then examines "the sources." For his book is a piece of textual criticism, an example of the kind of scholarship that now has standing in the theological world. Bundy claims that we can only answer the question as to the psychic health of Jesus by the most rigid application of historical and critical methods to the Bible text. He throws out John's narrative altogether, in fact he has an almost feverish hostility to the fourth gospel. He warns against the "Christian" tendencies of Mark and Luke (who in his reference system figure as Mc and Lk) and sternly suppresses aught in them that reflects the errors of the early church in regard to the actual person and mission of Jesus. Wherever necessary, he throws out "evident interpolations." When he gets through his trimming process he has such a Jesus of physical and mental health left as to stand almost alone in the midst of sick and suffering humanity. It is an interesting method and a fine result. It reminds us of a conversation we once heard between Prof. Dana the famous geologist and "a higher critic" of the Bible. The critic had congratulated the old man upon his "masterly reconciliation of Genesis and Geology"—a work of Dana's younger days. The geologist replied—"When I wrote that I thought it was useful, but you Bible students have now left nothing to be reconciled." We differ from Bundy's assumption that what we need for studying the psychic health of Jesus is this skeleton of criticism. If we really want to know about the psychic health of the man who lived and taught in Palestine, we should not only give full weight to the Gospels *as we have them,* we should even take into consideration extra-Biblical tradition, whenever we can find it. Throwing out John's gospel leaves us in a curious situation. A Jesus in perfect health, mental and physical, would make no great appeal to a suffering world. The sermons that attract go to John's gospel for texts; it is John's gospel that the Bible Society and missionaries first translate into foreign tongues; it is through John's gospel that Africa and Korea and the Islands of the seas became Christian. What Bundy leaves of teacher and of teaching may be in psychic health, but it has no weight and world value. Finally, Prof. Bundy admits that John the Baptist and Saint Paul both leave something to be desired in the way of psychic health. Is it not curious that the middle one in a trio of men who in succession worked at a world-movement should have been perfectly normal, while those on both sides of him were neurotic? Where can we find another such instance?

No name in French science and letters is better known than that of Camille Flammarion. He has standing among French astronomers and was the founder of the Astronomical Society, now numbering thousands of members. His writings have done much to popularize science. His style is charming, his information direct and clear. His fame does not depend only upon his astronomical work; for a half century he has been interested in psychic phenomena and he has written a series of interesting works in that field, which have been widely read. The book now in hand is the second in a trilogy upon "Death and its Mystery."[4] The first volume is entitled "Before Death"; the present one is called "At the Moment of Death"; the third is to be "After Death." Flammarion insists that Science must recognize and deal with a series of facts and phenomena which scientists are wont to wave away as impossible of acceptance, of discussion and of explanation. He accepts the facts, which he marshals by hundreds in his books. In speaking of "obstinate deniers," he says:—"Do you not think, dear readers, that one must be—how shall I put it?—blind, deaf, or something worse, to continue to reject the evidence? The facts published in this volume are as convincing as they are unquestionable." There is no question that there *are* phenomena; science must sometime deal seriously with them. Flammarion organizes his material, grouping it under various headings. Thus, he considers phantasms of

[3] "The Psychic Health of Jesus." Walter E. Bundy. New York: 1922. The Macmillan Co. 8vo; pp. xviii, 299.

[4] "At the Moment of Death." Camille Flammarion. New York: 1922. The Century Co. 16mo; pp. 371.

the living, projection of thought to a distance, apparitions, manifestations. These he considers separately, as occurring before or at the very moment of death. He claims to apply the positive method, that is employed in other sciences, to these phenomena. Having collected the material, having analyzed and grouped it, we must institute comparisons and draw conclusions. The attitude of Science towards this field is undergoing some change. Much is readily admitted today that was denied a few years ago. The fact of hypnotism is no longer denied; it is admitted and utilized. The conception of consciousness has changed; today the importance of the subconscious and the unconscious is recognized. The possibility of telepathy and thought transference is somewhat grudgingly allowed. In his present book, at least, Flammarion is ready to apply a psychic law of parsimony. Wherever possible he explains his phenomena by recognized, admitted and commonplace methods. He is liberal in allowing such explanation. When he goes beyond hypnotism and thought transference, he is inclined to recognize electricity or yet unstudied vibrations as explanations rather than to at once appeal to the miraculous, the supernatural. He believes that gains have already been made and that vast additions are to be expected in our grasp upon these present mysteries. If advancement is to be made, it must be through the rigid methods generally employed in Science.

FREDERICK STARR.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Near East

The Editor of UNITY.
Dear Sir:—

In your issue of October 5th, there was an article signed by John Haynes Holmes entitled, "The Shame of the Near East." I assume that the purpose of the article was to protest against war. I doubt whether Dr. Holmes surpasses the rest of us in hatred of war. There are, however, certain elements in his article which might contribute to international ill will and, in fact, there are misstatements which result in the kind of misunderstandings that produce war.

Dr. Holmes enumerates nine statements of facts. I am obliged to begin with No. 2, where he says that Greece went to war at the suggestion of the English Government. I was connected with the Peace Conference at the time when Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and President Wilson requested the Greek troops to occupy the Smyrna area. The twelfth point in President Wilson's fourteen points, which were accepted as the basis for the termination of the World War, provided that the non-Turkish races in the Ottoman Empire should be given an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development. In accordance with this provision it had been decided at the Peace Conference to allow Greece to administer the Smyrna area which was preponderantly Greek in population. The haste in asking the Greek troops to go in there was the result of fear that the Italian imperialists would rush in and hold Smyrna in accordance with the agreement of St. Jean de Maurienne made in 1917. In conformation to the decisions reached during the Paris conference, the Treaty of Sevres definitely assigned the Smyrna area to the Greeks. The Turks, however, refused to ratify the treaty and the French began to back the Turks, at first secretly and then openly, against the Greeks. There was French fear of the Greek prominence commercially and politically in the Mediterranean, and there was Latin fear of the re-establishment of a new Rome at Constantinople. This was what was really back of the French support of the Turks. Great Britain was only supporting the definite treaty agreements made at Versailles and at Sevres. It is true that the situation resulted in war between the Greeks and the Turks, and the Greeks, acting in behalf of the Allies and in an effort to compel the Turks to accept the Treaty of Sevres, which the French said they had no troops to enforce, drove their offensive against the Turks far beyond the boundaries assigned to them under the Treaty of Sevres. The Greeks, however, were expecting to retire to the assigned boundaries and were willing to do so as soon as provision had been made for the safety of the Christian populations that would be left behind in their retirement.

The fifth point made by Dr. Holmes is with regard to the gross injustice done to Turkey in the Treaty of Sevres. I think that Dr. Holmes must have made this point without having read the Treaty of Sevres, because the Treaty of Sevres attempted merely to carry out what Article 12 in Wilson's fourteen points called for. Syria and Mesopotamia were peopled by Arabs who desired to be independent of Ottoman rule. The Smyrna area, where the Greeks had the preponderant population, was assigned to the Greeks. Provision was made for an Armenian territory. Even Cilicia, where the Christians were in the majority both before the war and after the armistice, was restored to Turkey. Constantinople likewise was restored to Turkey, and those provinces where the Turks had the majority population were placed under Turkish rule. Arrangement was made for a plebiscite in Kurdistan so that the population there could vote as to their remaining a part of the Turkish regime. It is difficult to see in these provisions any "gross injustice" to the Turks.

No. 7 in Dr. Holmes' enumeration of facts belittles the Turkish deportations and atrocities. Only the other day I heard a speaker who had just returned from the Near East say in practically the words of Mr. Prentiss whom Dr. Holmes quotes as establishing a culpability on the part of the Greeks as equal to the Turks', that there had been many instances of Greek atrocities. I took pains afterwards to ask the speaker what was the proportion between the Greek atrocities and the Turkish atrocities. "Why, the Greek atrocities are only like the dust on the balance scales," he said. So, also, the stories of sniping to which Mr. Prentiss refers in connection with the sack of Smyrna. I am informed that the shooting from the windows was by terrified Greeks who were trying to defend themselves against the mobs battering down the doors.

As fact 3, Dr. Holmes mis-states the reason why Great Britain forbade the onrush of the victorious Turkish troops into Constantinople, and why the French were indifferent. With the whole civilized world, Great Britain foresaw the danger of a repetition of the Smyrna horrors in Constantinople. France finally restrained the Turks from attacking the British, not because of any love for the British, but to prevent the certain war between Great Britain and the Turks which would have resulted in the defeat of the Turks and would have frustrated the entire French program.

I am writing this letter because I believe that we shall succeed more effectively in our crusade against war if we are more judicious in our assignments of blame and more willing to have used the great influence of the United States in behalf of justice and a permanent peace.

Yours sincerely,
GEORGE R. MONTGOMERY,
Director, The Armenia America Society.

Conference on Church of the Future

To the Editor of UNITY:

May not the three plans for the Church of the future—That of the Community Church of Mr. Holmes, the building of the ideal community in which to demonstrate the ideal community church of Mr. Taylor, and the plan for a working understanding among the free-spirited of the various denominations, a new Order of Jesus, the church penetrative of Mr. Whittaker—be all complementary? So they seem to me. There is always danger of our holding a plan in dogmatic finality and exclusiveness.

It seems to me however that the policy advocated by Mr. Whittaker is of paramount interest to us because it deals with the exigencies of the present situation. The social reactionaries and theological fundamentalists are so perniciously active just now that there is no use in our settling down to work out a long-term program to be put into action in the indefinite future. At the same time let us realize that these advocates of a dark age religion are giving us a great opportunity by breaking the conspiracy of silence and forcing fundamental issues upon the attention of the public.

Everywhere one hears the recognition of the fact that the line of cleavage runs through churches to-day and not between them. We must continue to have denominations. Simon Magus and Simon Peter cannot get along together in the same organization. The curse of the day is that we are so much entangled with a denominationalism that is artificial and meaningless. We need a new and interdenominational So-

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES IN INDUSTRY

The following statement was drawn up by a Commission of the Third Conference of the Movement Towards a Christian International which met at Sonntagberg, Austria, in August, 1922. Without adopting the statement as expressing its united opinion, the Conference, decided to issue it as a basis for discussion.

I. The Aim of Industry.

The aim of industry is to produce the necessities of life in the best possible way and thus create the material basis for spiritual development.

A condition for the fulfiment of this function is that the natural resources which industry needs are really put at the disposal of the common weal. But this can only be done if it is acknowledged as truth that the Earth and its riches are given to all and ought not to be exploited by private individuals to the detriment of the community.

It follows from this consideration—

1. That the aim of industry cannot be private profit. The capitalist system under which industry is run for private profit must therefore be abolished.

2. The participants of industry, hand and brain workers, can only claim such reward as is necessary for a full life, according to circumstances. The surplus profits of industry belong to the community. Co-partnership cannot be considered a solution of the industrial question.

Even if the seeking for profit is a great stimulus, the result is an increased egotism in the individual, a splitting up of society, and in the long run it also effects industry itself very badly. Instead of this a joy of work and a sense of responsibility towards the community should be made leading motives.

3. Industry must be carefully planned in order to produce the necessities of life with a maximum of efficiency (in the best and cheapest way), and in order to avoid the waste of the riches of the Earth and of labor power.

The automatic balance of supply and demand need not be brought to an end, but must be used in the service of the new-planned industry.

4. All branches of industry that use the wealth of Nature and labor power to the detriment of the production of the necessities of life are to be considered as luxuries and ought to be suppressed wholly or partly.

II. The Place of the Worker in Production.

The worker ought to be able to feel as a human being, not only in his leisure time, but also during work. This means that work itself must give possibility for joy and a sense of responsibility. This is not only necessary for the worker himself, but is also necessary for the proper fulfilment of the aim of industry, as the joy of work and the sense of responsibility are alone able to give full efficiency to industry.

It follows from this general consideration that:

1. Human labor cannot be exploited as a means to further private interests. The capitalist system must therefore be rejected. This is also necessary from the point of view of the development of the worker's personality.

2. All participants of industry must therefore share in its control according to their position, so that they may feel their responsibility and creative joy, and not as if they were but part of a machine.

3. The system of production must become so autonomous as to be able to secure the influence and co-operation of the experts and freedom of movement. At the same time the community must lay down such rules and have such share of control that industry can really fulfil its proper function for the service of the common weal. How this is to be arranged is a technical question. The detrimental influence of certain forms of industrial work upon the personality of the worker must be overcome or compensated. This can be done, (a) through better working methods, (b) through better conditions in the workshops, (c) through shortening of the working hours (this is specially significant in the case of work that is necessary, but hard, dangerous or unhealthy), and (d) through such opportunities for leisure work as further the development of personality; e. g., gardening at the worker's own home.

It ought to be seriously considered whether it is not possible to transfer some of the mass production to more personal forms of work in agriculture and handicraft.

III. Practical Steps.

For the reorganizing of society the concern of the individuals for progress has been the first impulse.

For the over-coming of capitalism the hard and sacrificing work of the trade unions has been of fundamental importance.

The right of the workman to withdraw his labor must be acknowledged in certain situations of great stress; but it must always be remembered that the interest of the community at large must be the ultimate point of view, and if such withdrawal is accompanied by violence, it hurts and clouds the justice of the case and must be avoided.

But capitalism will be conquered first of all by the positive means of voluntarily re-organizing society on a new basis. Hitherto the trade unions have done and certainly will continue to do excellent preparatory work, through the education of their members in communal work.

The establishment of a new organization of economic life cannot however be done by a single class, but all the good forces must co-operate. As economic injustice is a common responsibility, so also reorganization of industry is a common duty. We especially call upon these classes who to a certain degree may be said to stand outside the class struggle and may have thought they could remain neutral, to co-operate. No one has a right to remain neutral, for it is a question of justice and brotherly love. Everyone may not be able to work directly, but it is possible for all to promote that new social spirit in which the

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ciety of Jesus, as Mr. Whittaker has suggested, which with all the penetrative force of Jesuitism will permeate the world of organized religion and give organic unity to the forces of religious progress.

On this account I am writing to inform the readers of UNITY that a number of us are now planning to call a conference of the progressives of the states of Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and the Dakotas to meet about the first of January to effect some sort of practical union of our forces.

I hope that it will be considered permissible for me to anticipate some of the principal features of such a union and of their plan of operation.

First of all, while keeping clear of all unessential theological divisions it must necessarily be anti-fundamentalist, for fundamentalism is the negation of all things for which we stand.

Second, it must be uncompromisingly anti-war.

Third, it will look towards industrial democracy.

Fourth, it must give its uncompromising support to feminism and to every movement for the production of a stronger, healthier, better breed of human beings.

Its form of organization must be the simplest consistent with efficiency. Wherever six or seven supporters can be found in a community there ought to be a local organization, and that organization should be private and the members should understand the art of working together and holding their tongues.

Just now the field that is best prepared for organization is the country west of the Mississippi, and especially in the communities of less than 10,000. Large cities are harder to organize than small ones because dwellers in cities have a narrower range of acquaintance.

There is no use in having a mere paper organization. There is no use in having one that consists solely of the officers. Nor is there any use to try to form a few isolated units. People have little enthusiasm for detached movements that give little promise of accomplishing something worth while. The social instinct is so strong that most people prefer staying in a big organization and hoping to bring it into conformity with their ideals than to cut themselves off from the great body of their fellow men in order to enter a small one with little promise of growth. Enthusiastic support will come to us from many thousands if we can show them how we can make such a fellowship penetrate to every county in the United States.

If I understand the purpose of this conference it is to agree upon a campaign to effect branch organizations at strategic points in all the Middle West states this winter, and arrange for a big organization drive during the summer months when ministers, teachers, and college students can be had for volunteer service as organizers. My opinion is that if we agree upon a program that really promises the needed results we will have no difficulty in securing scores of enthusiastic apostles of the faith who will be delighted to give their services at little more than their expenses for two or three months next summer; and the undertaking can be made to pay its way.

ERNEST M. W. SMITH.
214 3rd St., S. W., Rochester, Minn.

organization of economic life must be made to function.

In a democratic state great possibilities exist for parliamentary action for the abolishment of capitalism and for promoting a new economy of brotherhood. The state must first of all bring the natural riches to the service of the community, in order to take away the basis of capitalism. How this nationalizing is to be carried out is a technical question, although state socialism, in the strict sense of the word, ought to be avoided, because it would prevent that autonomy of industry which is necessary both from an ethical and from an economic point of view.

During the transition period the state must reduce the net profit of private capital much more than hitherto, through proper means of taxation, including those on inheritance, together with a capital levy, etc., so that the state may gradually obtain control of capital. (Always bearing in mind that industry must have sufficient capital for its own development.) Every form of industry injurious to the community, such as the making of war material, the alcohol industry, etc., must be suppressed.

Further the state must positively help the re-organization of industry through better legal measures, directing the present limited liability companies into better forms of collective work and taking interest in such new forms of economic organization as work in the service of the common weal. In any industry taken over by the state, bureaucratism must be avoided through the democratic control by the participants in the industry and the representatives of the community.

If we have come to see that these fundamentals are true, it is our duty as CHRISTIANS not only to co-operate in public life, for such re-organization of industry, but still more to be true to these fundamentals in our personal life, even if it lead to the sacrifice of our own privileges. It is of special importance that Christians who at present receive income from those profits of capitalism which really tax the community, should see their duty and act according to this light.

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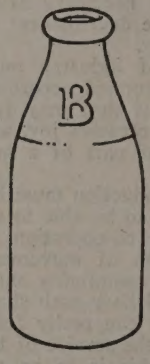

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